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585 her new surroundings. They can appreciate her feelings of
596 despair and loneliness; it is an ordeal which one day every Sarakatsan woman must face. But such sentiments can be
[604] afforded only a brief indulgence. From the Friday the bride undertakes the full routine of work allotted to her by her husband's mother.

The ceremonial induction into the family of the groom during and immediately after the wedding, the symbolic acts which she must perform, and the exchange of gifts with her close affines, all indicate the quality of her initial status within the extended family. The essential fact is that the new bride is subordinate to all other adults in the extended family. Even the five-year-olds try with varying success to boss the new 'bride'. As a worker her services belong to the whole group. She is, as they often say, 'our bride'. Not only does she care for the comfort of her own husband but she is responsible for washing, mending, and darning the clothes of all his unmarried brothers. In general, it can be said that any hard or unpleasant work will be delegated to her. A mule to be rounded up, water to be carried—the new bride is certain to be sent. 'She must learn our ways,' the other women explain, 'and must take root in her
[606] new family. Besides, she has no children to care for.' The bride takes most of her orders from her mother-in-law under whose critical and watchful direction she works. But she must be prepared to carry out requests from any brother, sister, or other more senior bride of the extended family. Yet despite her subordinate status she is accepted as a full member of the group. This is the implication of the exchange of gifts with members of the family; for in this community gifts are never exchanged with unrelated persons. 'She is one of us', they say. Membership carries with it the possibility of a growing comradeship, and the right to protection against insult and injury from outsiders.
585 Her behaviour is extremely modest. She speaks only if she is
596 addressed, and then her replies are made with the utmost show
576 of respect. She addresses her husband's brothers as ἀφέντη,
[601] 'master', and his sisters as κυρά, 'mistress'. She follows her husband in his modes of address to all senior relatives, father, mother, uncle, aunt, and so on. The family and kinsmen address the newcomer as simply νύφη, 'bride'. In the first months the bride will rise to her feet and remain standing when a man of the

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not also bring a wife into the group, the bride continues to work very hard carrying water, and gathering firewood for the family. But she will now receive, necessarily, more assistance from the other women in the family and often the demands of her child for the breast, as well as the other attentions it requires, will take priority over all other considerations.

At this time the husband's behaviour towards his wife undergoes fundamental changes. He now begins to talk with her more freely before other members of the family. She is not any longer merely the conjugal partner with whom he has sexual relations, which even in marriage possess a suspect if not exactly shameful quality. She is now the mother of his child; and in this role, especially if her infant is a son, the husband openly recognizes his wife without the ambivalence which previously attached to their relationship. For the child represents his own social individuation; it stresses his separation even from his siblings with whom his common interests have previously been almost undifferentiated. As a father he must now assert himself in the world, and even within his own extended family, if he is to carry out adequately his parental obligations.

After the birth of the first child the bride does not usually continue to address her husband's brothers and sisters as respectively, ἀφέντη, 'master', and κυρά, 'mistress'; instead she uses their christian names. And if, by this time, a younger brother of her husband has been married, the family no longer address her as νύφη, 'bride', but use the name of her husband with the suffix '-ina' added; thus Pericles, Periclina. With these changes it is openly recognized that a new elementary family group has emerged; and they reflect, too, the growing equality in the relationships of the wife with the members of her husband's family of origin who are of her own generation. It is also significant that no member of the extended family, except the parents-in-law, any longer orders her about in peremptory fashion in the presence of her husband, let alone attempts to scold or discipline her.

Parallel to the diminished control of the family over the bride, is the tacit understanding that the husband/father of the new elementary family is no longer able to fulfil critical obligations of his roles as son and brother in his family of origin; specifically, he is not expected to risk his life in any form of

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596 578 159 165 Vasilina the youngest wife has been married for about two years. She gave birth to a son, but the child was weak and died. Since she has scarcely advanced from the status of being a new bride, she does not assert herself. She is a willing worker but slow and without much intelligence. For these reasons the other women have little patience with her and criticize her freely.

596 578 The wives openly admit that they live in anticipation of the day when their husbands will separate the single household and each wife will become 'mistress' (νοικοκυρά) in her own home. Their imputation of various short-comings to the other wives is merely a way of demonstrating their fundamentally opposed interests in respect to their different families. Each wife/mother is in herself a symbol of the kinship distance which separates her children from their paternal cousins, and therefore her husband from his siblings. The worst quarrels between wives are about their children. And such quarrels are particularly dangerous to the unity of the brothers. Two married brothers frequently stand together and verbally or even physically chastise their wives who make trouble in the family by quarrels over personal differences; but when the issue between the wives concerns their children (however trivial its origin may be), the two sibling/fathers, out of loyalty to and identification with their children, are inevitably committed to the support of their wives.

Therefore a circumstantial factor of some importance in deciding the moment when brothers must separate is the increasing difficulty of maintaining discipline in a joint household without causing offence to the constituent elementary families. When Theodoros on occasions shook a worried head and said, 'We are eighteen individuals (νομάτοι) in this house', this was the cause of his anxiety. As head of the house he could directly discipline only his own wife and children. He would not verbally reprimand a brother's wife in her husband's presence, unless she was a newly married bride or without children; in his absence he would certainly scold her if she did not comply with some instruction which concerned the general running of the joint household; but he could not interfere in her relations with her children. No brother would ever strike another brother's wife.

606 Even the control of the mother-in-law over her sons' wives, though it is still considerable, becomes less complete after three or four years of marriage. In this household there are eight young

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of origin of the marriage partners of his collateral kinsmen. There are also two quasi-affinal relationships which must be mentioned; that of co-bride (συννυφάδα), which is the link between a man's wife and the wife of his brother; and similarly that of co-bridegroom (μπατζανάκης), which describes the relationship of two men who are married to sisters.

The importance of the principle of parental obligation is once more apparent when we ask which are the significant affinal relationships. These are, in fact, the relationships between an individual and those affines who are, or will be, parents of the first cousins of his (or her) own children; more specifically relationships with the husbands or wives of siblings, and with the siblings of the individual's own marriage partner. Whatever a man's personal feelings may be, for the sake of his children he is almost compelled to co-operate with these affines. A brother tries hard to win the goodwill of his sister's husband. He is anxious that she should receive good treatment among the strangers to whom he and his family have given her. And it is noticeable that in the early years of marriage while the bride is still unsure of her position in the new family, her brothers often do more favours and good turns for the husband and his family than they receive in return.

But from the point of view of the husband, too, this is the critical affinal relation. So long as his dealings with the siblings and parents of his wife remain friendly his children are assured of adequate kinship support. In the early years of marriage, the nostalgia of the wife for her family of origin and her old home is not easily appeased. The physical separation of affines does not make visits to her parents very easy, and in any case, as we have seen, her husband and his brothers are not pleased if communication is too frequent. In practice, most young brides manage to visit their homes about twice a year. It is an accepted custom that young brides accompanied by their husbands set out on the Tuesday after Easter to visit the bride's home for five or six days. In the early years, these occasions may be something of an ordeal for the bridegroom. He must show a careful and studied respect towards his father-in-law and mother-in-law (πεθερός, πεθερά). Even with the brother or sister of his wife (κουνιάδος, κουνιάδα) he cannot relax, but must appear at all times severe and grave.

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606 For their part, the family of the bride both for her sake and
607 the sake of her children try very hard to please the 'bridegroom'. 'The father-in-law must entertain the bridegroom and keep him content' (ὁ πεθερὸς πρέπει νὰ εὐχαριστήσῃ καὶ φιλοξενήσῃ τὸ γαμπρό), they say. When the bridegroom comes on a visit 607 meat is always killed, an honour which is not automatically accorded to a blood kinsman however close. After the passage of some years and the establishment of the new family, relations between the husband and his wife's family of origin become less tense and formal, and if the bridegroom is an honourable man, his father and brothers-in-law may eventually trust him with some of their secrets. Yet even after the passage of years, close affinal relatives of the same generation must behave in a dignified and restrained manner in each other's presence. The easy familiarity between cousins of both sexes finds no parallel in the case of affinal relations. Affines do not laugh and joke together.

602 We need not discuss again the position of the bride in her
609 husband's extended family of origin; something has already been said about this in chapter four. The brothers and sisters of the married pair may see one another from time to time. The husband, or a young unmarried brother of the husband, always escorts the wife when she goes to her home to see her parents, and one of the wife's brothers brings her back to her husband's
602 home at the end of her visit. On these and other chance occasions, some at least of the members of the two families of origin come to know one another. But these relations never become easy and familiar. The link between co-parents-in-law (συμπέθεροι)[4] is formal. At the time of the marriage of their children, the fathers have already retired or are on the point of doing so, and since affines generally do not live in the same village, and the parents-in-law do not visit each other's homes, social contact between them is minimal.

In general, effective co-operation between affines does not usually occur beyond the limits of the two elementary families of origin of a married pair. The significance of affinal relations beyond this range is negative, that is to say a man avoids giving offence to or dealing deceitfully with such people. But even

[4] As we have seen, συμπέθερος is also used in a wider sense to mean affines in general.

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Theodoros

602 578 and his other brothers were able effectively to express their hostility towards the Balatsos group for their faithless behaviour. But Demetrios, because they were the family of his wife and the close maternal kin of his two young children, felt that in some way he must maintain these relations. For some months 602 578 593 this fact was a source of considerable annoyance to his brothers, who inside the family circle and in the absences of his wife ridiculed his attitude of compromise. Fortunately he is an easy-tempered man and accepted these rebukes in silence. But an element of strain was introduced into the relations of the brothers which in other families might have led to blows and the permanent severance of relations. A man must try to hold a balance between his attachment to his siblings which derives from the bonds of mutual identification in his family of origin and his relations of contractual co-operation with the kinsmen of his wife. This is not always easy.

602 [594] It is this 'balance', in relation to parents' categorical duties to their children, which leads to the emancipation of the elementary family from both the families of origin of the two [596] parents. In describing life in the extended family we saw how the control of the husband's family over his bride suddenly weakens after the birth of her first child; how the brothers of the husband no longer give the bride peremptory orders in his presence; how they must never interfere with her handling of her children and so on.

593 594 There is a corresponding degree of independence from any influence of the wife's family of origin; but in this instance it is established immediately on the day of marriage. When a bride goes to see her parents, she is not permitted for the four or five days of her visit to do any work. As an honoured guest she sits by the hearth, and to occupy her hands, while she gossips, she spins wool. But it must be her own wool especially transported in a small sack by her husband for this purpose. She is not permitted to spin her mother's wool even in a situation where the family is under pressure to finish the dowry of a younger sister.

593 606 Moreover, when a father or brother has given his daughter or sister in marriage, he is quite powerless to interfere directly if the husband maltreats her. Chronic wife-beating is rare, but where it does occur, the wife's family can only help her by

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indirect pressures, such as the withdrawal of moral and practical support from the husband or, if his conduct is not widely known, the threat to ridicule him in public. But these, it may be added, are powerful sanctions.

The content of co-operation between affines is not significantly different from the kind of assistance given and received by cognatic kinsmen. Since affines generally live in a different neighbourhood, it happens not infrequently that a wife's brother acts as negotiator in arranging a marriage for a younger brother of his sister's husband. The fact that he is willing to perform this service is in itself a recommendation of the prospective bridegroom's family. It is also because they generally live in different neighbourhoods that a man sometimes turns to a close affine when he is in difficulty over the pasturing of his animals. When Apostolis Zygos had a few acres of grazing land in excess of his winter grazing needs, he rented them to the husband of his brother's daughter for a sum somewhat lower than an offer made to him by an unrelated neighbour. The neighbour was hard-pressed for grass and later showed his resentment, it is alleged, by stealing two of Zygos' lambs. The niece's husband brought a hundred of his sheep from his own winter grazing, forty miles away, and employed a local village boy to assist one of his brothers in watching them. Thus, affinal ties, like relations within the kindred, although they often involve physical separation, generally take precedence over the more tenuous obligations of being a good neighbour.

Another example of help given to an affine illustrates the variable character of this assistance. In the territory of certain of the eastern villages of Zagori the Sarakatsani do not live in or close to the village but build their encampments, each stani separately, some miles away and close to their grazing land. Alec Katris lives three miles from the village of Laista. His small ten-year-old daughter Chrysanthe cannot make this long journey to school each day unaccompanied. And since Alec has no kinsman or affine who lives close to Laista, he sends his daughter for the summer term to live with the family of the brother of his sister's husband who lives at Skamneli, a neighbouring village, where she attends the school. There is no money payment for the girl's board but at the beginning of the

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602 431 term the father sends a generously large sack of flour to his relatives. And when he heard that his affine was in need of some timber to repair the rafters of his house, Alec at once despatched, as a free gift, a mule load of sawn planks of which he happened to possess a small store. The difference between the help given to a kinsman and the co-operative assistance lent to an affine is that in the latter instance there is no such thing as a 'free favour'. Had Alec Katris been able to send his little daughter to live with a cousin or some other kinsman, he would have made a contribution in flour to cover the expense of her presence in the kinsman's family, but it would not have been necessary to make a counter gift of a load of valuable timber. The 'trouble' as opposed to the 'expense' of having the child in the home would have been a 'free favour', making no demands upon the family's corporately owned resources. But where a man does a personal service for an affine, some return favour is always awaited. In these relations the element of contract is always present, and a certain competitive attitude as to which set of affines fulfils its obligations with the greater punctilio.

606 591 596 The fate of a man who lives as a son-in-law in the home of his wife's parents is the extreme example of how affines are always expected to claim their pound of flesh. This arrangement is made only in a case where a man has daughters but no sons. After the elder daughters have been married off in the normal manner, the youngest girl marries a man who 'goes as bridegroom' (πάει γαμπρός) into the home of his wife. As his contribution to the establishment of the new elementary family, he brings with him his share of the flock in his own family of origin, an amount of wealth which corresponds in function to the woman's dowry in the normal marriage. Materially, the bridegroom may do very well out of this transaction, since eventually he becomes the trustee of the whole of his father-in-law's flock. Yet it is difficult to find a man from a family of good standing and moderate wealth to take this step. Particularly in the earlier years a man loses his self-respect and manliness in a situation where he is at the beck and call of his wife's parents, who feel entitled, without embarrassment, to exploit his labour in return for the eventual inheritance of the wife's patrimony; this in most cases greatly exceeds the value of an ordinary dowry.

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ordinary dowry. Yet the Sarakatsani say of such a bridegroom that his fate is 'worse than that of a skinned fox' (χειρότερα ἀπὸ τὴν γδαρμένη ἀλεπού).

A man never entirely trusts his affines. Yet precisely because of the co-operative compact which has been established and their equal concern for children who will claim both sets of affines as blood kinsmen, close affinal relatives must give positive proof of seeming to trust one another. A man will sometimes entrust his unmarried sister to the care of a sister's husband or a sister's husband's brother. When Patra Achnoulas went to Athens to see an eye specialist, her sister's husband, who also had business in the capital, accompanied her. It is reasoned correctly that only a mentally deranged person would act dishonourably in such a situation since his punishment at the hands of the community would be ostracism. Yet such is the suspicious attitude adopted towards affines that the Sarakatsani have many stories, no doubt spurious in the main, about illicit sexual intercourse between a bridegroom and his wife's sister; although it is true that these cautionary tales generally involve villagers or gipsies and not Sarakatsani. The true incidence of such affairs amongst the Sarakatsani themselves is probably very low; I could discover only one case, and that did not occur in recent years. If we speak generally of breaches of trust, it may be said that where these occur between kinsmen they produce a feeling of horror akin to the reaction to treason in our own society; but where the breach of trust is between affines the shock rather prompts a degree of criticism that, affines being what they are, a man did not take more care.

4. SOME STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS

The marriage contract which establishes affinal relations between two previously unrelated families is unique and may not be repeated. For instance, two brothers may not marry two sisters, although they are permitted to marry women related as first cousins. Like the prohibition on marriage in the kindred this reinforces the tendency towards the isolation of the family from collateral kinsmen. The suggestion that if the first marriage were successful it might be a good thing for two brothers to be married to two sisters is met with shocked incredulity. 'They have made one blood. They must search

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the world' (μὲ ἔφερε στὸ κόσμο). With the physical connexion between mother and son, goes a recognition of the overwhelming pain of childbirth, and the passive courage which is necessary to resist it. Women work until the last moment. Some Sarakatsani tell how their mothers were out gathering herbs or firewood when the pains began. They point out the tree or stone that marks the place of their birth. They tell how the mother assisted by a companion, or in some cases entirely alone, having cut the cord and buried the afterbirth, then loaded up the new child and the bundle of firewood and returned to the hut.

The attachment of the son to his mother draws strength from his own childhood memories and from the accepted qualities any Sarakatsan mother is presumed to possess. There is the long suckling period. He remembers how his mother was always the provider of food and unconditional love; how she made a phylactery and secured it under his shirt to protect him from the attacks of the Devil. He remembers her distracted care for him in sickness and her divination to find the evil eye that was the cause of it.

The status of a mother of married sons is considerable in the extended family. I remarked earlier that the wife/mother plays an expressive role. What she expresses is the integrity and solidarity of the group. The brothers explain their attachment to one another with reference to the fact that they were born from the same mother. The mother acts as the diplomat and peacemaker between the dissident wives. Despite the ambivalence of attitude between mother and daughter-in-law, wives work amicably enough under the instructions of their husband's mother. They do not work amicably under the wife of the eldest brother and it is noticeable that extended families, where the mother of the brothers is dead, do not survive long. In such cases there is lacking a social personality that symbolizes and mediates the mutual attachment of the various elementary families within the extended group. Thus, married sons in an extended family come once more to respect their mother's authority in her own particular sphere as mistress of the extended household. The senior brother who is head of the household punctiliously consults her about all decisions that affect the family, whether they are strictly concerned with her

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885 828 577 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 596 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind [606] heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they [447] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 597 554 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the community probably approves of her. When she is above sixty [831] years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' [796] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 754 [755] But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic techniques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these [784] cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A [774] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to [833] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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596 594 554 [584] Even when it is a question of the marriage of one of his descendants, he can influence the father of the future husband or give his blessing to the one concerned. He cannot oppose the choice of a wife for the latter. This does not contradict anything in the system of marriage arrangements set forth above; the principle of the societal group of individuals as sources of alliances remains unshakable. But this example shows that the agents of this control are ranked within the framework of the extended family and linked to it in the manner described.

This same fact is also a further illustration of the real existence of the conjugal family, since it shows that the latter is integrated in the extended family without losing the functions peculiar to it.

[584] [198] However, we have the feeling that this independence of the conjugal family in the matter of marriage, its area, carefully demarcated seems to correspond more to a relatively recent period in Sarakatsani life, whereas in a more distant epoch the head perhaps also had a right of "veto" in this domain.

[584] Be that as it may, it should be pointed out, for this is very significant, that in practice the father of the family never gives his children in marriage without consulting "the old man" whose opinion he respects.

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596 606 554 /165/ A strict hierarchy also exists among the women. Through the wife of the head /man/ is at the head of all the women of the extended family, each mother-in-law directs her daughters-in-law who for their part form a hierarchy among themselves, the wives of the more recently married brothers being expected to show deference to the wives of the brothers previously married.

596 554 On the other hand, the status of each wife entering the extended family is always inferior to that of the men and women born into this family. The names she must use to address the relatives of her husband

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585 the time of the nuptials, which begins with the pastry decorated in the manner referred to above. With this ritual we gradually move away from the circle of ideas dealing with the Mother-Goddess and enter another, as we shall see presently.

We know that during the solemn preparation of this pastry the blessing and the wishes of the nearest relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, etc.) are sought. The mystic power of the word of those who are best disposed to utter it is thus combined with the presence of the grain transformed into flour and then bread, the symbol of subsistence. Added to it is the potency of the coin that the attendants throw into a receptacle when the wishes are formulated--a potency that we shall examine farther on. However, this is only one part of the rites. The other part takes place the very day of the nuptials. When the bride arrives in front of the hut of the groom, and before she dismounts from her horse, she breaks her pastry on her head, without using a knife, into four pieces which she tosses around her. Likewise, still mounted, she must then throw rice and candy which her mother-in-law or her sister-in-law offer her on a tray. The gesture of scattering bread, rice and candy and the multiplicity symbolized by the last two items will ensure abundance. Nature will show her generosity toward the new home. Moreover, the rice will contribute to "the taking-root of the couple" (according to a play of words in Greek in which "rice" and /263/ "root" are identical) and the candy will "sweeten" their lives. Dismounting from her horse, the bride heads towards the hut; she crushes a pomegranate on the ground and its seeds are scattered on the ground--a further symbol of the abundance and fertility of the earth. Once under her new roof, she empties on a piece of fabric stretched out on the ground two cups of wine (symbol of life and immortality). (38) The Sarakatsani

38. See Iliad, 9, 705 f. "...enjoying bread and wine, for these are the sources of strength and courage..." According to Pliny: Natural History, 1412, the Greeks call life the act of drinking wine.--For the Babylonians